

Ora Matushansky, SFL (CNRS/Université Paris-8/PLA)  
email: ora.matushansky@cnrs.fr  
homepage: <http://www.trees-and-lambdas.info/matushansky/>

## CONSTRUCTS IN CONSTRUCTION

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### 1 INTRODUCTION: AFFIXAL COMPLEXES

Stem and affix augmentation often happens in non-native vocabulary in English:

- |     |    |   |                      |
|-----|----|---|----------------------|
| (1) | a. | abolish → abolition, absorb → absorption                                    | suffix <i>-tion-</i> |
|     | b. | truncate + tion → truncation  | or <i>-[t]ion-?</i>  |
|     | c. | explain → *explaintion, ✓ <b>explanation</b> , cf. <b>explanatory</b>       | phonology?           |
|     | d. | expect → *expectation, ✓ <b>expectation</b> , cf. <b>protect/protection</b> |                      |

The insertion of *-a[t]-* does not seem to be straightforwardly phonologically motivated and is not limited to one suffix:

- |     |    |  |                    |
|-----|----|--|--------------------|
| (2) | a. | event → eventive, expense → expensive, immerse → immersive                                     | suffix <i>-iv-</i> |
|     | b. | provoke → <b>provocative</b> , <b>provocation</b> ; form → <b>formative</b> , <b>formation</b> |                    |

Historically, some nominalizations and adjectives were borrowed from or based on Latin

#### 1.1 Historical background: the Latin passive perfect participle as a base stem

Aronoff 1994, Embick 2000, Embick & Halle 2005, Steriade 2016, Kodner 2023, etc.: many Latin deverbals contain the passive perfect participle as a phonological substring but with no semantic containment (exx. from Steriade 2016):

- |     |    |  |    |  |
|-----|----|--|----|--|
| (3) | a. | caed-e-re<br>cut/kill-TH-INF<br>'to cut, kill' | b. | caes-us, caes-ī<br>cut/kill.PTCP-NOM, cut/kill.PTCP-GEN<br>'that has been cut' |
|-----|----|--|----|--|

Steriade 2016: the shape of the participle is phonologically derivable (here, *dt* → *tt* → *ss* → *s*)  
For the distinction between the various "event nouns" see Spevak 2022

- (4) *t*-derivatives (incomplete list):
- |    |   |
|----|---|
| a. | agent noun: caesor 'cutter'                       |
| b. | future active participle: caesūrus 'who will cut' |
| c. | event/result noun: caesūra 'cutting'              |
| d. | event noun: caesiō 'cutting'                      |
| e. | event noun: caesus, -ūs 'cutting'                 |
| f. | adverb: caesim 'by cutting'                       |
- (5) non-*t* derivatives:
- |    |  |
|----|--|
| a. | event noun: caed-ēs 'carnage'                              |
| b. | adjectives: caed-uus, caed-īvus 'fit to be cut'            |
| c. | agentive compound member: X-cīd-a < X-caed-a 'killer-of-X' |

Steriade 2016: the relevant suffixes are *t*-initial, conditioning the choice of the stem allomorph

Support (citing Benveniste 1948): the agentive (*-tor-*, *-ter-*) and action (*-tu-*, *-ti-*) suffixes were already *t*-initial in PIE; formed on the basis of adjectives formed with the suffix *-to-* (Calabrese 2020: adjectival passive, Majer 2017: possessive)

But English is not Latin
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(And the question is open on how come Latin has so many *t*-initial suffixes)



## 2.2 Russian verbal borrowings

Affix pleonasm (Gardani 2015) in loanword integration: with loanword stems the verbalizing suffix *-ow-* is often preceded by borrowed suffixes (*-iz-*, *-ir-*, etc.), and their combinations:  
Not extended to other Slavic languages: either *-ow-* or *-ir-*, *-iz-*, etc.

- (9) a. kompil-**ir**-ov-a-ti 'to compile' (in programming)  
b. social-**iz-ir**-ov-a-ti 'to adapt to society'  
c. real-**iz**-ov-**á**-ti 'to implement'
- (10) a. verif-**ic-ir**-ov-a-ti 'to verify officially'  
b. tarif-**ic-ir**-ov-a-ti 'to determine the tariffs'

Extremely productive with loan stems

The status of these borrowed suffixes is not the same:

- (11) a. kompil-**ác**-ij-a 'compilation'  
b. social-**iz-ác**-ij-a 'socialization'  
c. verif-**ik-ác**-ij-a 'verification'

Some inner suffixes are required by faithfulness to the source, *-ow-* is the verbalizer  
Note specifically (10b), a rare example where no corresponding verb exists in the source languages (both in French and in English *tariff*) is a noun), so borrowing probably started with the event nominal *tariffication*

## 2.3 Indonesian circumfixes

Circumfixes are a problem for the binary branching hypothesis:

- (12) a. berg 'mountain' → ge-berg-te 'mountain range' Dutch  
b. boom 'tree' → ge-boom-te 'woodland'

Marušič 2023: circumfixation consists of two independent processes

Connors 2003, Tebay 2025: Indonesian circumfixes cannot be analyzed as a combination of a prefix and a suffix (wrong prosody; combination with phrases):  
Indonesian stress is penultimate, and regular suffixes trigger reprosodification, while circumfixes don't

- (13) a. ke-áda-an abstract nominalization, Tebay 2025  
NMLZ.A<sub>1</sub>-exist-NMLZ.A<sub>1</sub>  
'situation, state'
- b. ke-ingin tahu-an  
NMLZ.A<sub>1</sub>-wish know-NMLZ.A<sub>1</sub>  
'curiosity'

Both parts of this circumfix exist independently, but their composition semantics does not give the required interpretation (nor syntax or prosody):

- (14) a. ke-dua ordinal formation, Tebay 2025  
ORD-two  
'second'
- b. minúm-an "concrete nominalization"  
drink-NMLZ  
'a/the drink'

Tebay 2025: analysis as two exponents inserted into one head

## 2.4 Intermediate summary: affixal complexes

There is evidence for derivation involving the addition of more than one morpheme at once  
The semantic and/or phonological composition of these affixal complexes may be incompatible with iterative suffixation

Reasons for affixal complexes are not always clear (and this is why I do my work in Russian)

Some affixal complexes correspond to complex affixes

## 3 PROPOSAL: COMPLEX AFFIXES

Traditional approach: affixes may be complex (*-ation-*, *-ical-*, *-ication-*...)

“**Micromorphology**” (term from Stump 2019; similar mechanisms in Bochner 1993, Soukka 2000, Luís & Spencer 2005, Stump 2017a, b, 2019, 2022, 2023): **affixes may combine without a stem**



Stump 2017a, b, 2019, 2022: two (Vocabulary Insertion<sup>(DM)</sup>) rules may conflate

The outcome of conflation may differ from successive affixation, e.g.,:

- derivatives in *-ian-* may be nouns or adjectives; derivatives in *-ic-ian-* can only be [+human] nouns
- derivatives in *-ist-ic-* may not relate to derivatives in *-ist-*
- derivatives in *-ic-al-* contain stems that neither *-ic-* nor *-al-* alone can combine with

No prior implementations in Distributed Morphology

Am I just translating Stump’s theory into DM? No

DM allows us to determine and/or implement:

- semantic effects of complex affixation: semantic deletion, allosemy and its sources
- phonological effects of complex affixation (Tebay 2025, Matushansky 2025, but also perhaps Semitic verbal templates, cf. Kastner & Tucker [to appear])

Like rule conflation, addresses potentiation (Aronoff 1976), counter-potentiation (Stump 2022) and **affix conglutination** (Haspelmath 1995; the fact that the inner affix is semantically null)

Roadmap:

- Russian complex affix *-telj-ĭn-*: evidence for complex affix formation
- semantic deletion in complex affixes
- evidence from feminines

Complex affixes are both predicted by the theory and already in use (e.g., Harley 2017)

## 4 THE MISSING AGENT IN DERIVED ADJECTIVES

Adjectival derivation may (and very often does) appear non-compositional:

- (16)
- Darwin → Darwinist/Darwinism → Darwinistic
  - capital → capitalist/capitalism → capitalistic
  - impression → impressionist →? impressionistic

English adjectives in *-istic* need not be semantically linked to the nouns in *-ist* (sometimes not even to those in *-ism*, cf. (16c) and *probabilistic*)

In fact, the loss of agentive meaning in adjectival derivation is very widespread

#### 4.1 Independent pieces: *-telj-* and *-ĭn-*

**Adjectivizing suffix *-ĭn-*** (surface [en]/[n]): “pure categorizer”, no discernable lexical meaning beyond adjective formation:

- (17) a. *piłj* ‘dust’  
b. *piłj-ĭn-ij* ‘dusty.MSG’
- (18) a. *komp’úter* ‘computer’  
b. *komp’úter-ĭn-ij* ‘computer-ADJ-MSG’

**Non-deverbal**, productive, strongly disprefers [+human] bases (Bobkova 2022)

Vinogradov 1952:346 treats this as a restriction on animates, but notes a few exceptions, such as *konnij* ‘horsed’ or *ribnij* ‘fish’

“Pure categorizer” means the outcome is a “property linked to N”:

- (19) a. *programmĭnij* ‘programmatic, program’  
b. *kul’turĭnij* ‘cultural, cultured, cultivated’  
c. *verĭnij* ‘faithful’ (from *vera* ‘faith, belief’)

- (20)  $[-\text{ĭn-}] = \lambda x_k . \lambda P . P \text{ has something to do with } x_k$

**Agentive suffix *-telj-***: strictly deverbal, strictly subject-oriented (cf. the External Argument Generalization of Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1988 and Rappaport Hovav & Levin 1992):

- (21) a. *ľubi-tj* ‘love-INF’  
b. *ľubi-telj* ‘an amateur’
- (22) a. *vikľučá-tj* ‘turn off.IMPFV-INF’  
b. *vikľučá-telj* ‘a light switch’

In productive uses can be restated as “one that Vs”, ambiguous between actor and instrument; this ambiguity seems to be systematic across languages (Rainer 2015)

An agentive noun can serve as a basis for an apparently transparent adjective-formation:

- (23) a. *muči-tj*  
torture-INF  
*to torture*
- 
- b. *muči-telj*  
torture-AGT  
*tormentor*
- 
- c. *muči-telj-n-ij*  
torture-AGT-ADJ-MSG  
*poignant, agonizing*

But some *-teljĭn-* adjectives are not agentive:

For the range of their possible meanings see Itkin & Leont'eva 2019 (in Russian)

- (24) a. *primečátel'nij* ‘noteworthy, notable’ (from *primečáti* ‘to notice, perceive’)  
b. *upotrebiteľ'nij* ‘common, generally used’ (from *upotrebítj* ‘to use’)

And some do not have a corresponding *-telj-* noun at all (in fact, those in (24) don’t)

#### 4.2 Missing intermediate steps

Sometimes the corresponding noun exists but cannot be the base for the adjective:

(25e) involves a different stem alloseme (\*ABA violation)

- (25) a. *izbrátj/izbirátj* ‘to select, elect’<sub>PFV/IPFV</sub> → *izbirátelj* ‘elector, voter’  
b. *izbirátel'nij* ‘electoral, election (attr.), voting’ ≈ ‘related to voting/election’  
c. *izbiratel'nij učastok* ‘polling station’  
d. *izbiratel'nij bülletenj* ‘voting form’  
e. *izbiratel'nij podxod* ‘selective approach’

The suffix *-ŭn-* does not combine with animate nouns

- (26) a. *predoxranítʹi* ‘to protect, preserve’ → *predoxranítelʹi* ‘electrical fuse, safety device’  
 b. *predoxranítelʹnij* ‘preservative, preventive, protective’  
 c. *predoxranitelʹnie meri* ‘precautions, precautionary measures’

And the resulting *-telʹi-ŭn-* adjective does not have to include an agentive component:

- (27) a. *razdražátʹi* ‘to irritate (IMPF)’ → *razdražítelʹi* ‘irritant’ (from the perfective stem)  
*razdražítelʹnij* ‘irritable’  
 b. *nosítʹi* ‘to carry, wear, bear’ → *nosítelʹi* ‘carrier’ (rocket carrier, information bearer)  
*nosítelʹnij* ‘wearable, transportable’

**The adjective is semantically linked to the verb rather than to the intermediate noun:**

- (28)  $[[\sqrt{-X_{TEL}-Y_{IN}}] = [[Y_{IN}]]([\sqrt{\quad}]]$  affix conglutination

**Affix conglutination** (Haspelmath 1995): “affix reanalysis in which an inner affix and an outer affix are combined [...] Semantically, the new conglutinated affix is not different from the original outer affix”

Terminology: Stump 2022 calls the cases where the historical change is complete (only the complex is productive, and its former parts are not) **affix telescoping**; Haspelmath 1995 reserves this term for cases where the inner affix is semantically null

The phenomenon of semantically vacuous intermediate suffixes is very widespread

Traditional Russian grammars, Agapova 1974 via Zvezdova & Gou 2013; Haspelmath 1995, citing Kiparsky 1975; Itkin & Leont'eva 2019: new simplex suffix *-telʹn-*:

- (29) a. *osnovátʹi* ‘to found’ → *osnovátelʹi* ‘founder’ → *osnovátelʹnij* ‘substantial’  
 b. *starátʹsʹja* ‘to try hard’ → *starátelʹi* ‘prospector’ → *starátelʹn-i* ‘assiduous’

But is it truly reanalyzed as a single morpheme?

### 4.3 Complex affix formation or reanalysis?

Stump 2022: the suffixes *-let* and *-ling* have been reanalyzed:

- (30) a. booklet, droplet, eyelet, leaflet, piglet, rootlet, streamlet, wavelet -let-  
 b. kernel, nozzle, puddle, scrapple -l-  
 c. Janet, midget, packet, turret -et-
- (31) a. duckling, gosling, hatchling, nestling, sapling, seedling, weakling, yearling -ling-  
 b. fairing ‘present from a fair’, golding ‘gold coin’,  
 lording ‘term of address for a lord’, sweeting ‘sweet apple; sweetheart’ -ing-

Neither the inner nor the outer suffixes are productive

Haspelmath 1995, Grestenberger & Kastner 2022: Modern Greek verbalizer *-ev-*, originally derived from the combination of the agentive suffix *-eu-* and the verbalizer *\*-je/o-*

Conversely, in *-ic-al-*, *-ic-ian-*, *-ist-ic-*, or the Russian *-telʹi-ŭn-* or *-ik-ŭsk-* (surface *-ič-esk-*), both pieces are fully productive



The constituent formed by the two suffixes is redundant and incoherent:

- redundancy: *-ĭn-* is a pure categorizer returning the property of being related to the base stem (*-telj-* is far more specific, returning the kind characterized as the external argument of the base event)
- incoherence: *-telj-* returns a kind, *-ĭn-*, a property

In the general case, **one suffix in a complex suffix structure must be semantically null**

Two options: actual deletion (a process) or inserting a null allomorph (i.e., semantic allomorph, cf. Marantz 2013, Wood 2015)

My preference is for the former: (a) deletion is a process attested on the PF side; (b) the distribution of semantically null affixes seems to be predictable; (c) the null allomorph would also have to have come from somewhere, (d) too many other suffixes would have to have a null allomorph

Empirically, it is generally the inner suffix that is semantically null

Since *-ĭn-* is a pure categorizer, *-telj-ĭn-* will also be one, no motivation for semantic constraints on the base

But the c-selectional conditions of *-telj-* remain: the complex suffix is purely deverbal

## 6 INTERMEDIATE SUMMARY

The agentive semantics of the suffix *-telj-* can be lost in adjectival derivation (Haspelmath's affix conglutination, which is a type of Stump's rule conflation)

This loss is not obligatory, there exist doublets, as in (25), (32–33):

Though such doublets can always be attributed to polysemy, either of the base stem or of the derivative

- (36) a. *predstavitel'niĭ* 'representative'  
b. *predstavitel'niĭ* 'impressive, dignified'

Proposal: formation of a complex suffix and obligatory semantic deletion inside it

Agentive and non-agentive readings of *-telj-ĭn-* adjectives correspond to different structures

Additional benefits: **counterpotentiation** (Haspelmath 1995, Stump 2022, 2023):

- (37) a. *cyclic, historic*  
b. \**whimsic, \*nonsensic*  
c. *whimsical, nonsensical*

In the suffixal complex *-telj-ĭn-* the inner suffix (*-telj-*) overcomes the selectional restrictions of the suffix *-ĭn-* (which cannot combine with verbal stems)

## 7 FEMININE AGENTIVES IN *-TELj-*

Feminine formation in Russian is a very complex topic

Main generalization: feminines are marked by an overt segmental or suprasegmental suffix (that is distinct from inflection except for null-derived deadjectival nouns)

The feminine suffix for *-telj-* is *-nic-* (underlying representation: *-ĭnic-*):

- (38) *učitel'/učitel'nicā* 'a teacher', *voditel'/voditel'nicā* 'a driver', *voitel'/voitel'nicā* 'a warrior', *roditel'/roditel'nicā* 'a parent'

This suffix has two principal uses that are distinct semantically and morphologically:

- inanimate nominalizer (potentially with an intermediate adjectival step, (39))

- feminine counterpart of the animate nominalizer *-nik-* (40), (underlyingly *-nik-*)  
 The k2c palatalization is morphologically triggered in Russian
- (39) a. *bol'nica* 'hospital' (cf. *bol'* 'pain', *bol'nój* 'sick; a patient')
- b. *pérečnica* 'pepper box' (cf. *pérec* 'pepper', *pérečnij* 'pepper-related')
- c. *bojnica* 'gun-slot' (cf. *boj* 'battle', \**bojnój*/\**bójnij*)
- (40) a. *provodník* 'conductor' (animate or inanimate)
- b. *provodníca* 'conductor.F' (animate only)

There are no animate nouns derived with *-nic-* without a masculine counterpart

### 7.1 The feminizing suffixal complex *-nic-* is a complex suffix

The semantics of the feminine nouns in (38) is not compositional:



The structure in (41a) should yield an inanimate noun

The structure in (41b) predicts the systematically unattested intermediate step

In fact, there exist a few inanimate *-tel'nic-* nouns, e.g., *plevatel'nica* 'spittoon' and *kuritel'nica* 'incense burner', which can be analyzed as deadjectival with the suffix *-ic-*

What is needed from *-nic-* is just the semantic feature [+feminine]

This can be achieved if the suffix *-nic-* is a complex consisting of the adjectivizer *-jn-* and the feminizer *-ic-*

### 7.2 Both *-nik-* and *-nic-* are internally complex

Kiparsky 1975 via Haspelmath 1995, Itkin 2007:169: *-nik-* (underlying representation: *-nik-*) historically arose from suffix stacking (the adjectivizer *-jn-* and the nominalizer *-ik-*)

Is this still the case synchronically?

Both *-jn-* and *-ik-/ic-* are synchronically productive, the latter as diminutives or parts of another suffixal complex:

- (42) a. *vodá* 'water', *vodíca* DIM
- b. *sestrá* 'sister', *sestríca* DIM
- (43) a. *plazmenščik* 'physicist who studies plazma' ← *plazm-enn-yj* 'plasma' ADJ     *-ščik-*
- b. *bombardirovščik* 'bomber/bomber pilot' ← *bombardirov-a-t'* 'to bomb'
- c. *svadebščik* 'a wedding professional' ← *svad'b-a* 'a wedding'
- d. *tralščik* 'trawler, mine-sweeper' ← *tral-i-t'* 'to trawl', *tral* 'trawl'

Historically, *-ščík* (allomorph *-čík*-) is complex:

- Kiparsky 1975: *-ščík*- is derived from the combination of the adjectivizer *-šik*- and the nominalizer *-ik*-
- Vaillant 1964 via Witkowski 1981: *-ščík*- is derived from the combination of the Turkic suffix *-čī-* and the nominalizer *-ik*-

Productive, yields semantically transparent derivatives, forms feminines in *-ščíc-*  
 The feminine *-ščíc-* cannot form inanimate nouns

- (44) a. *piárščík/piárščícá* ‘PR administrator.M/F’  
 b. *kranovščík/kranovščícá* ‘construction crane operator.M/F’

Luschützky 2011: very little evidence for the independent nominalizer *-ik*- in OCS

Shaky evidence for a synchronic nominalizer *-ik*-:

- (45) a. *bolševik* ‘bolshevik’ (from *bólšij* ‘bigger’) native  
 b. *alkogólik* ‘alcoholic’ loanword

Both *-ik*- and *-ic*- also function as diminutives

**The feminizer *-ic*-** is independently motivated:

With some caveats related to its accentual properties: it is accentually dominant when independent

- (46) a. *tigr/tigríca* ‘tiger/tigress’  
 b. *fěldšer/feldšeríca* ‘medical assistant.M/F’

How do we know if it is one suffix or two? Or a complex suffix?

- (47) a. *slóvník* ‘glossary’ (cf. *slóvo* ‘word’, \**slovníj*)  
 b. *plavník* ‘fin’ (cf. *plávati* ‘to swim’, #*plávníj* ‘smooth, flowing’)  
 c. *učěbník* ‘textbook’ (*učíóba* ‘studies’, *učěbnij* ‘study-related, educational’)

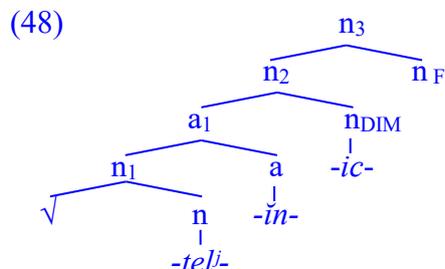
The intermediate adjectival step can be missing or have an unrelated meaning

### 7.3 The suffixal complex *-tel'nic-* requires complex suffix formation

The gendered pair *-nik/-nic-* suggests that *-nic-* is complex

If *-nic-* still contains the adjectival *-in-*, complex affix formation is the only possible analysis

Suppose only iterative suffixation were available:



How would *-tel'i-* be interpreted in this structure?

The interpretation of feminine [tel'nic] nouns is expected to depend on the interpretation of the corresponding [tel'n] adjective

Contrary to fact, of course (with the exception of the few inanimates mentioned above)

## 8 CONCLUSION AND FURTHER QUESTIONS

The DM approach to complex affix formation predicts the semantic inertness of the inner affix  
The fact that it is the inner one is probably extralinguistic, it's historical

Complex affixes are useful for:

- **affix conglutination** (Haspelmath 1995): systematic optional semantic deletion of one suffix in the context of another  
semantic deletion would be obligatory in such a structure due to type clashes and incoherence;  
surface ambiguity can be explained by the simultaneous availability of two structures
- **semantic enrichment and new affix formation**: complex affix structure creates an environment for allosemy

Complex affixes *per se* are expected to happen, the novelty is in the semantic deletion

Complex affix formation can be driven by selectional restrictions, ambiguity avoidance (e.g., in feminines), reanalysis, prosodic considerations, etc.

This is a clear lookahead (result-orientation), but I don't see how it can be avoided

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